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T H O U G H T S

ON THE
PRESENT ALARMING CRISIS
OF
A F F A I R S:
HUMBLY SUBMITTED
TO THE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION
OF THE
PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

DEDICATED TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD NAAS.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED
T W O L E T T E R S,
FORMERLY WRITTEN TO THE POPISH INHABITANTS OF
THIS KINGDOM.

By A G R A Z I E R.

INTERDUM VULGUS RECTUM VIDET.

HOR.

D U B L I N:

PRINTED BY W. SPOTSWOOD, N° 40, COLLEGE-GREEN.

MDCC LXXIX.

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THE O U C H T S

ON THE

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

A T F A I R S

BEING

TO THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

OF THE

PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

PROLOGUE TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD ALAS

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

T W O J F R S



FORMERLY WRITTEN BY THE REV. JAMES INNES

THIS EDITION

BY A. G. A. I. E. R.

INTERIM VOLUNTARY RECTOR VIDE

HON.

D U B L I N :

PRINTED BY W. G. WOODWARD & CO. COLLEGE GREEN.

MDCCLXXXIX.

TO THE RIGHT MONOURABLE

JOHN LORD BARON NAAS,
FIRST COMMISSIONER OF HIS MAJESTY'S REVENUE,
ONE OF THE
TRUSTEES OF THE LINEN MANUFACTURE, &c. &c.

MY LORD,

POPULAR applause, when it is sanctioned by the approbation of our own heart, is the most pleasing offering any person can receive; but wanting that self-conviction, certainly no virtuous man would purchase it at the expense of the duty he owes to his God; his Conscience, or his Country: the misfortune is, that the mass of the people for want of judging right, often treat their earthly rulers, as they do their heavenly one, mistaking what was intended for their advantage, and service, as the greatest evils; which is the only reason I can assign, that in a long life spent in the service of this kingdom, and the most strenuous endeavours to transmit our Constitution, both in church and state, inviolate to posterity, no larger portion of it has fallen to your lot: however, your Lordship has this pleasing reflection, that you can truly say with Cato, "though you did not com-

See

"mand it, you have done more, for you have
 "deserved it;" but I find I am insensibly wan-
 dering from my first intentions, and instead of
 offering my reasons for this dedication, am run-
 ning into a detail of your Lordship's virtues,
 which your own actions have imprinted on the
 minds of all the good and dispassionate part of
 mankind, in more indelible characters than the
 ablest pen could possibly do. The first cause of
 prefixing your Lordship's name to this small
 treatise (which I fear has little to recom-
 mend it but the honest intention of the author)
 is, that it may be more universally read, as the
 sailor that was shipwrecked put on his admiral's
 coat, that he might the sooner be taken up;
 the next reason was, I must own, to gratify my
 pride and ambition, by declaring to the world,
 with what unfeigned respect and esteem I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

Most Obedient, and

Most Humble Servant,

Nov. 19, 1779.

A GRAZIER.

THOUGHTS, &c.

MY FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

BE assured I am no servant of the Crown, that I neither enjoy Place nor Pension, and it is probable I never shall; that I am arrived at that period of life, in which our passions generally subside, and give place to the cooler dictates of reason and experience; and however I may err in point of judgment, certain I am, I never shall in the rectitude of my intentions, nor the honesty of my heart, which, with a sincere regard for your happiness, and a love for that country that gave me birth, were my only motives for undertaking a task that I am but too sensible I am by no means qualified for.

LIBERTY is the inherent birthright of mankind, which God has given to all his creatures, but like other blessings of Providence, which, when they are abused, become a curse; so Liberty

berty may degenerate into licentiousness, which generally terminates in tyranny, and brings that state or kingdom that is infected with it to ruin, of which history affords many examples; and when we seriously reflect on the great alterations that have been made both in our religious and civil constitution within these few years, how treason and sedition dare walk abroad even at noon-day, without a veil to cover their deformity, it must represent the most dreadful apprehensions to every considerate person.

IN almost every free state there are factious men, who love to fish in troubled waters, and who would pass through life with the contempt and insignificance they justly merit, did they not artfully work on the passions of the weak and credulous, who cannot see through their designs. I am satisfied your own experience can point out those who answer this description, for there are many men well calculated to set the world on fire, but not one in millions to rule it when it is wildest.

THE voice of the people is called the voice of God, and generally, when they judge for themselves, they are at first right; but the misfortune is, they know not when to stop, till some bold designing villain, taking advantage of their frenzy, uses them as a ladder to mount to the

the summit of his ambition, and by destroying Liberty and the Constitution, establishes Despotism in their stead, of which Cæsar in Rome, and Cromwell in England are incontestable proofs.

THIS Kingdom seems now to be arrived at that awful moment when she must undergo a mighty change both in her commerce, and her politics, either for the better or the worse. If we are governed by prudence and moderation we may (with the blessing of heaven) obtain the former; but if on the contrary, we listen to seditious tribunes, and suffer ourselves to be hurried on by our violent and irregular passions, it is most probable we may involve ourselves in ruin, and entail it on our posterity. Sorry I am to say, that many people are inclined to pursue the worst of these methods, but before you leap into this tremendous gulf to which you seem to be now hastening, let me conjure you, my friends, to pause for a moment, divest yourselves of partiality, and for the sake of your unoffending offspring, revert to your own reason and good sense, which providence has blessed you with, for the want of consideration is the cause not only of all the sin we are guilty of, but of all the imprudent actions we commit: and the Almighty expostulating with the Jews by the mouth of his Prophet, makes use of this emphatical

phatical expression, "Oh! that my people
 "would but consider." The bulk of the people may at this time be divided into two classes; one part of whom advance, that it is our interest now that Britain is oppressed and down, to keep her so, till we compel her to grant us every thing we can ask or desire, however incompatible with her own welfare, or the advantage of the empire in general; the other part go much further, and declare for independence, and an alliance with France. I shall endeavour to convince you of the baseness, and dishonour, nay of the folly, and ingratitude of the former, and of the parricide, villainy, and utter impossibility of the latter: and that I may be fully comprehended, even by the meanest capacity, I will make use of a plain simile,—Suppose you saw a stranger attacked by three or four men, would not even honour and generosity induce you to assist the weakest? but if the oppressed was your friend, the companion of your youth, with whom you had grown up to maturity, how would your indignation arise? Should any person tell you, that on such an event you would join with the numbers, and instead of relieving your friend, help to destroy him; I well know you would spurn at the imagination, and are ready to cry out,—perish the ungrateful idea! so repugnant to the character of Irishmen: and yet believe me, my countrymen,
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this is the very conduct you are pursuing, for Britain is at this moment struggling with accumulated difficulties, Ungrateful, rebellious America, (for so I must now call her) combined with the mighty monarchies of France and Spain, are carrying on unremitting hostilities against her in every part of the globe: even the sovereignty of the ocean, (the boast and glory of the British diadem) seems suspended; and will you, at such a juncture, act the dishonourable part to throw yourselves into the scale of her enemies? When Britain with the united strength of that empire she has left, can scarce make head against her numerous foes; shall this kingdom, ever remarkable for her Loyalty, take advantage of her weakness?—Forbid it shame, forbid it honour! But the folly of such conduct almost exceeds the baseness of it, for should you by your dissensions, so far humble your parent state as to oblige her to grant independence to America, she will then have nothing left to grant worthy your acceptance; for he must be a very bad politician indeed who cannot foresee, that if such an event takes place, that the West-India islands, and the Newfoundland fisheries must soon fall, which puts an end to the African trade, and then she will have little left except the Asiatic commerce, which now is, and is likely to continue a monopoly; so that if Britain falls
(which

(which heaven avert) you must be involved in her destruction.

THE prohibitory and restrictive laws we so justly murmur at, have been of force in this kingdom only within this century, and though partly enacted by our own consent, I must consider them as impolitic, unjust, and unnatural, and yet I cannot but observe, that during that period our country has improved more in every particular, than she did in five hundred years before. Saint Paul tells us "many things are lawful that are not expedient;" surely, if ever these words were verified, they are on the present occasion: at any other time, to exert all our abilities, and to try every lawful means to obtain a relaxation, or a total abolition of those noxious statutes, would have been praiseworthy and highly commendable, nor would any person more heartily have concurred in it than I would; but in the hour of Britain's distress, to insult her calamity is most base and impolitic, and more especially as we had the strongest reasons to believe that from her own generosity, and a full conviction of her error, we should soon have had a full redress of all our real grievances; for I will be bold to say, she has within these few years done more for this Kingdom to her own prejudice than ever was done for us before.

By

By Poyning's law, no act can be of force in this nation, till it receives the approbation of the King in Council, and I believe it will readily be allowed that no people are better acquainted, or more tenacious of their commercial interests than the English; yet, as soon as the bill for allowing a bounty on the inland carriage of corn was presented, it passed. If you ask, what mighty favour was this? consult your custom-house books, and they will inform you, that on an average you paid Britain five hundred thousand pounds yearly for corn, which you now not only keep at home, but if I am rightly informed, you exported last year to the amount of that sum, which made a difference of one million sterl. in your favour, and is more than I fear you would make in your present impoverished state by a free trade in seven years, though no man wishes more ardently for it than I do, provided it can be properly obtained.

It is above two years since we got liberty to export leather, shoes, and gloves, since when there has not been five hundred pounds value of those commodities sent out of the kingdom, and I am strongly of opinion it would turn out so in other matters. You complain your trade stagnates, your artificers are unemployed, but does not Britain in proportion feel equal distress? And

And here the body politic may most justly be compared to the body natural, where if the head is out of order, all the members are affected; but say you, are not the whole nation in an uproar for an immediate free trade? and pray why were they not equally anxious for it ten, twenty, or thirty years ago? Left your own recollection should not enable you to give an immediate answer, I will furnish you with one; there are no more Loaves nor Fishes to be scrambled for, there is not a shilling in the Treasury, and there is above half a million of debt unprovided for, so of course there can be no more pensions or sinecure places granted as you are unable to pay new taxes.

THE Heathens represented all sorts of vices to be centered in Ingratitude; let us then reflect how far we are infected with this odious crime in respect to Britain, for which purpose it is necessary we should take a retrospective view of this Kingdom since she has been united to England, but as that would be writing a history, instead of a pamphlet, I shall only say, she found us rude, and uncivilized, scarce a degree removed from savages; she has taught us her customs, and her manners, instructed us in commerce, improvements, and husbandry; she has spent her treasure, and her blood more than once to prevent the bloody banners of Rome from flying triumphant

triumphant in this kingdom; in return for which, in the time of her greatest need, we associate with her natural foes, the avowed enemies of our religion, by entering into resolutions not to import any goods from Great-Britain, while every encouragement was given to the productions of France and Spain. If this be Irish gratitude, it would almost make me renounce that country for whose happiness and welfare I would with pleasure lay down my life. One observation more, and I have done with the first class of people I described; while the states of Greece were united, they bid defiance to the mighty empire of Persia, but their internal contests proved their ruin, and brought on that slavery, which the millions of soldiers Xerxes led against them could never have effected.

I COME now to speak of those who are for independence, and a treaty with France; and here indeed, I am at a loss for words to express my indignation, contempt, and resentment. I must rely upon it that no nation in the universe is so badly situated for independence as this kingdom, the very idea of it is absurd, and ridiculous; we who are able to victual all the fleets of Europe, as well as the West-India Islands, are of too much consequence to be suffered to enjoy it, nor are we in any manner

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to be put on a parallel in that particular with America; she has a vast (I had almost said a boundless) continental empire; we are shut up in the limits of a small island; she is thousands of miles removed from any foe that can materially injure her; we are surrounded by warlike nations, who are ready to venture every thing to annex us to their dominions; America has timber, and all other materials within herself to become a mighty maritime power, all of which we are utterly destitute of; and it is most improbable, and almost impossible we should ever acquire a naval strength equal to defend us; must we not then lye at the mercy of every powerful invader if we lose the protection of England? Universal Monarchy has been the darling object of France for above this century past, to accomplish which she has spilled rivers of blood, and expended mines of treasure; and would long since have given law to Europe, but for the intervention of Great Britain. True indeed, that haughty nation has been humbled, but she was not convinced, but has cherished the same ideas from that day to this, and only wanted the power, but not the will to carry them into execution; her feathers were plucked, she has waited till they should grow again to maturity, and a proper moment offered to expand her pinions, and mount on the wings of her insatiable

able ambition; unfortunately our unhappy disputes with America presented her with the favourable juncture, when regardless of oaths, and the most solemn treaties, she violates them all without the least shadow of complaint, or any offence on our part; she seizes the opportunity, when we were involved in a Civil war, to incapacitate that nation from ever giving her any more disturbance, who had been the principal cause of supporting the freedom of Europe, and had so often rendered her ambitious projects abortive at the expense of her blood and treasures: and are these the people we are to look up to for assistance? this the kingdom that is to support our independence? who would enslave both the bodies, and conveniencies of all mankind, who establishes tyranny where ever she gets possession, by making the will of her monarch law. What a wretched exchange, my Countrymen, would you make for the glorious constitution you now enjoy? where the sovereign can neither injure you in your Lives, your Liberty, nor your Property.

BUT, say these parricides, these emissaries of France, the French want not to bring us under subjection, they only desire we should detach ourselves from Great Britain, and set up for independence, when they would support us with the whole power of their empire. The
fallacy

fallacy of this argument, must be manifest to the meanest capacity, for were we so inclined, (which I pray God we never may) what could we get by it? Though we should not be slaves in appearance, we must actually be so in reality, and could enjoy our freedom on no better tenure than the *durante bene placeto* of the French king. Whenever we disunite from England we shall be reduced to the situation of Samson after he had revealed the fatal secret to Delilah; for as his strength lay in his hair, so does ours in the protection of Britain. Suppose, for instance, his most Christian Majesty should direct you, as your very good friend and ally, (and those directions were backed with a powerful fleet that surrounded your coasts and could destroy your sea-port towns) that you should ballot for every tenth man to recruit his numerous armies, or that you should without distinction conform to the church of Rome, (which latter is no unlikely supposition) and you should refuse, can you think in such a case a despotic monarch would bear to be controled; or that he would use you better than natural born Frenchmen were formerly, Thousands and thousands of whom were condemned to racks, flames, the galleys, and banishment, in open violation of the most sacred oaths by the revocation of the edict of Nants: you would then indeed repent, when it was too late, that you had assisted

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to reduce Britain to such a state, that she could not relieve you ; but I will dwell no longer on this melancholy subject, which I pray God in compassion to mankind, may never be realized ; and be assured, unity amongst ourselves is the surest method to disappoint the machinations of our enemies. You are all, I suppose, acquainted with the well-known fable of the old man and the bundle of rods, who when he was a dying, called his sons, and desired them to break it—they attempted, but found it impracticable ; he then bid them unbind it, and try them one by one, when it was accomplished with ease. I am troubled to say, that this is most applicable to Britain ; while she was united, France dare not insult her with impunity, but as soon as America detached herself from us, she has met with but too much success ; let me then, my friends and countrymen, beseech and conjure you, as you prize your religion, your country, or your posterity, for the preservation of which your forefathers nobly dared to set at defiance imprisonment, bonds, and death, that you do not by your divisions give greater encouragement to our natural, watchful, and perfidious foes ; be assured the day is not far distant, when Britain will of her own accord fully relieve you ; and how much more eligible is it to obtain any matter voluntarily and with good-will, than with reluctance, and through

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dire necessity? even supposing we were able to compel her to it.

I BELIEVE it will readily be granted, that the late Dean Swift was not only an able statesman, but the most disinterested patriot this Kingdom ever produced; give me leave to quote an observation of his, "There are, (says he) some circumstances wherein the death and dissolution of government is more lamentable in its consequences than it would be in others, and I think a state can never arrive to its period in a more deplorable crisis, than at a time when some prince in the neighbourhood of vast power and ambition, lies hovering like a vulture to devour, or at least dismember its dying carcass; by which means it becomes only a Province, or acquisition to some mighty monarchy, without hopes of a resurrection." As you love your country, let me entreat you, my friends, seriously to consider the opinion of this great man. I know you all cry out against the present ministry, and perhaps I may think worse of them than any of you; but let us reflect, they are but birds of passage, but our country still remains; there may arise another Chatham, and what a madman would you account him, who because an unskilful Sclator has left a hole in the roof of his house that admits the rain, would immediately begin to pull down the whole fabric, when another person might

might be got to stop it : and would he not be equally ridiculous, who, if his house was set on fire, and he could extinguish the flames, would suffer it to be consumed to pursue the incendiary ? Your own reflections render it unnecessary for me to draw the inference. Be assured, your only safety, your only happiness (under God) must proceed from your connections and dependence on your parent country ; and that those who attempt to alienate, or estrange your affections from her, are the enemies of both nations. If any thing I have offered can tend to strengthen or cement that mutual love and confidence at all times necessary, but more particularly at this period, it fully answers the intentions of

Your affectionate Friend,

and Countryman,

A GRAZIER.

L E T T E R I.

TO THE

GENTLEMEN, CLERGY, AND INHABITANTS OF
IRELAND, PROFESSING THE POPISH RELIGION.

FELLOW-CHRISTIANS, COUNTRYMEN, AND FELLOW-
SUBJECTS,

PERMIT an anonymous individual, who has the highest regard for your welfare and happiness, to submit his sentiments to your consideration, at this truly alarming crisis, when the fate, not only of this Kingdom, but of the whole British Empire seems suspended by an equal balance, and the smallest event might preponderate the scale. The zeal you have professed for Government, and the civil constitution of your Country on this tremendous occasion must be highly acceptable to your Protestant brethren of all denominations; and manifests a grateful return for the extraordinary indulgence granted to you the last session of Parliament: an indulgence, which has removed even the shadow of complaint on your side, as you can now give permanency to your property, and bequeath

bequeath it agreeable to your own inclinations, without the dread of one child becoming a convert, and by that means engrossing the fortunes of the rest. When you put this conduct of the English constitution in contrast with the treatment that is given to those of the reformed religion, in countries that are wholly popish, such as France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, surely it must impress your minds with the strongest ideas of affection and tenderness for the mildness, humanity, and benignity of such a government, under whom you enjoy your religion and property as securely as those of the established church.

THIS kingdom must most certainly either rise or fall with England, so that her glory will aggrandize us, and we must be partakers in her disgrace, or dishonour. I cannot more strongly corroborate this, than by comparing Britain to her native oak, and this country to the ivy that twines around it; if the oak is cut down the ivy falls of course, and may for a while crawl upon the ground, but for want of its support soon withers, and dies away. If this is a truth (as most undoubtedly it is) what should be the fate of those perfidious parricides, who openly avow, that if the French came here, and issued a proclamation that they would protect us in our liberties and properties, and that their only view in invading this kingdom, was
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to free us from the iron hand of oppression (as they most unjustly call it) with which Britain rules over us, that they would not resist them? Let me conjure you, my countrymen, to beware of such monsters, and look upon them to be full as dangerous enemies as either French or Spaniards. Let such wretches but consider the conduct of the French to the brave, but unfortunate Corsicans, where they were admitted as mediators between them and the state of Genoa, but they soon threw off the mask, and became their tyrants; when hundreds and hundreds of those unhappy islanders, whose names would have shone with dignity and honour amongst the noblest patriots of Greece, or Rome, perished on Racks and Gibbets; while (oh shame!) Britain, once renowned as the friend of Freedom, and for assisting virtue in distress, looked on as a tame-spectator, and laughed at their calamity, whose only crime was asserting that Liberty given them by God and Nature; for which indifference, we at this moment bleed at every vein. France could not have had the mighty Navy she now boasts of, but for the large forests of oak she got in that island, besides having above eight thousand of those brave men on board her fleet. Be not then deceived by trusting to French promises, whose oaths, and treaties are become as proverbial for being violated, as ever the Punic faith was; as a full
proof

proof of which, can there be a stronger instance, than the unprovoked, unjust, and wanton war, they are now waging against Great Britain?

You have now, my fellow-subjects, the fullest opportunity of carrying those loyal professions, which have done you so much honour, into execution, and to shew by your actions, that your words were sincere. It has been judged highly necessary, from the threats of our perfidious enemies, to put this kingdom in the best posture of defence, by training such of her inhabitants as are lawfully qualified, to the use of arms; and though I hope, and believe all are ready and willing to expose their lives in such a glorious cause, yet all are not able to bear the expense of it. Subscriptions are opened in most counties of Ireland, to cloath such men as are unable to do it, and when you reflect they are to fight, to preserve to you the peaceable possession of your property, while you are in safety at home, they undoubtedly deserve your consideration, and that every person should subscribe according to his ability. If common fame speaks truth, there was raised amongst the Popish inhabitants of this kingdom, some years ago, thirty thousand pounds, to ensure the passing the mortgage bill; and though that miscarried, you have now got an act of five hundred times more advantage to you and your posterity. Surely then it is
well

well worth your while to give something to preserve the effects of it; but I hear, with the utmost concern, that many amongst you are much offended at being denied the use of arms, to remove which, is the cause of this address; and, as I am fully convinced, that nothing can tend more to render abortive the hostile intentions of our enemies, than unanimity amongst ourselves, if I can but reconcile one dissatisfied person to the propriety of the refusal, it will abundantly recompense my trouble; but as I have already exceeded rather the limits of a letter, I must defer the conclusion to my next.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your affectionate Countryman,

Sept. 4th, 1779.

A GRAZIER.

L E T T E R II.

FELLOW-CHRISTIANS, COUNTRYMEN, AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS,

IN my last letter I acquainted you how pleasing and acceptable your professions of loyalty to your King and Constitution, were to all degrees of people, and pointed out a method, by which your actions would incontestably verify the truth of your words, which was, by subscribing to the necessities of your country at this period of danger. I showed you that we were so connected with Great Britain that our prosperity and happiness must depend on her success; and endeavoured to convince you of the extreme folly in trusting to French treaties, promises or oaths; for be assured, whenever the lust of empire and universal monarchy have thoroughly possessed a state, all other considerations that can impede the ruling passion are of no restraint, even the sacred bonds of religion are of no more efficacy than the new ropes with which Delilah bound Samson; for it is an undoubted fact, that while the late French king, as well as his predecessor, expressed the greatest zeal and attachment to the church of Rome, they were endeavouring more than once, to engage the
Turks,

Turks, who are the avowed enemies of Christianity, to war against the empire, though of the same religion with themselves. From this you may form a judgment, that if the French should ever conquer this country, (which God forbid) your being of the same profession, will be of no more service to you, than as it answers political ends. I also informed you, that I had heard with the utmost concern, that the daemon of Discord had gone forth amongst you, on being denied arms. We are told by the Lord of Life, that a house divided against itself cannot stand: a division in the state is always unfortunate, but when the enemy are at our doors, it exaggerates the calamity beyond expression. To heal this breach was the cause of my writing to you, and shall be the subject of the remaining part of this letter, in discussing of which, I shall endeavour to avoid any expression that may give you offence, for it is not fear, but mutual love, that binds up mankind, and I most heartily and sincerely wish, that your own future good conduct may obliterate, and for ever bury in oblivion, those epithets, and severe reflections, that one part of the community have loaded the other with, for above two hundred years past; and that the only contest that shall now remain between Protestants and those of the Popish communion, shall be an emulation, which of them, by their lives and conversation, come nearest to the rules laid

laid down by our blessed Redeemer, and which of them shall approve themselves the best subjects.

I BELIEVE it will readily be granted, that there must be a national religion in every well governed State, and that the conforming to that mode of worship, is to be the criterion for qualifying any person for an employment in it; otherwise a Jew might become chief Minister to his Holiness, and a Cardinal the Prime Visier to the Grand Seignior: such an absurdity wants no comment to expose it. The reformed religion is the established one of this kingdom; and surely no nation on earth should be more careful and exact, that every person in authority, both in the Civil and Military line, should conform to it, as I will venture to affirm there is no country in Europe, where six, out of seven, and of a contrary profession from the national religion, but Ireland. Degenerate as the world is become, there is, and ever must remain, a degree of philanthropy amongst mankind; the noble passion was, for our own welfare, implanted in us by Providence, and cannot be entirely eradicated; from whence it naturally occurs, that every man would wish all mankind to be of his own religion: but the ignorant and uninformed would go farther, they would not allow you to judge for yourself; but would compel you to think as they do.

I BELIEVE

I BELIEVE and am almost confident, that arms might be put into the hands of such of your communion, as have received a liberal education, with as much safety to the state, as into the hands of any Protestant whatever, nor have I a doubt but they would be as courageously and as truly employed for the purposes for which they were intended: but give me leave to ask you, is there more than one of a hundred that comes under the denomination I have described? It is generally allowed on all hands, that there does not exist a more bigotted, ignorant set of mortals, than the peasantry, and common labourers of Ireland; how then will you draw the line? I am informed (and I think from good authority) that there are this moment sixty or seventy thousand men in the provinces of Munster and Connaught, capable of bearing arms, who cannot speak a single word of English. Surely I need not tell you with what notions these men have been brought up, both in regard to the religious, and civil constitution of this country; some few of them may be made serviceable by being incorporated in the standing army; but they want those enlightened, generous ideas that actuate men of education, and could receive no instruction but what is conveyed by the Irish language, which has long since become obsolete. I am certain every sensible man of your persuasion, would tremble to

see

see such a body of men disciplined, and armed, when even at this day, a standing army, and the laws of the land, are not able to keep them in subjection; no, nor even the authority of their clergy, who say they have done every thing in their power, to stop the progress of the White Boys, and the houghing of cattle. For my own part (and I am sure many of you will join me) if there was no other method of resisting the French (as thank God there is force abundant, if we are but united, to make them repent their daring insults) I would even sooner trust to those who are civilized and acquainted with the rules of war, than make use of such a desperate remedy, at least, until some late prejudices are more effectually removed. Certainly, it is most glorious to die for our country, nor does that man deserve to live that would refuse it, when he is to fight *pro aris, & focis*. Who can read the Greek and Roman histories, without passing the most enthusiastic encomiums on those patriots, who have rendered their names immortal, by sacrificing themselves for the good of their nation? Yet surely, no wise man, no brave man, would wish for the occasion: what, then, is this envied pre-eminence of Protestants? Only to fight your battles, to preserve to you the quiet and peaceable possession of every thing that is dear and near to you; while you, by the laws of your country,

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are most honourably excused from facing danger. Surely the loss of life or limbs cannot be desirable : even in an army, some are left to guard the baggage ; and you may be most usefully employed at your own houses, in keeping the common people quiet, who, in some measure, if an invasion takes place, are as much to be feared as the enemy.

UNANIMITY amongst ourselves, must, with the blessing of Heaven, defeat our inveterate foes ; our own country furnishes an example of the melancholy effects of a contrary conduct. Ireland was once independent in herself, and governed by her own kings, until they divided, and quarrelled amongst themselves ; when the English were called in to assist the weakest, who soon possessed themselves of the whole island. True indeed the event has proved most fortunate for this kingdom ; but let us not, my countrymen, I beseech and conjure you, give a similar opportunity to our treacherous, ambitious enemies, from whom we could (notwithstanding all their promises) expect no other favour, than what the Corsicans have experienced, a loss of Liberty, and Racks and Gibbets for such as dare nobly to contend for it ; as be assured, we are no more able to maintain an independency than those unhappy islanders. There were particular favours showed you last session
of

of Parliament; your own good conduct may be productive of more; but let me advise you, never to act in character with a right honourable gentleman of this kingdom, for on lord North being asked who he was, answered, " he " was a person, to whom if his Majesty gave " his three kingdoms, he would ask the Isle of " Man for a cabbage-garden." Gratitude for favours received, is certainly the surest method of ensuring more, which, that you may merit, is the sincere wish of, Gentlemen,

Your affectionate Countryman,

Sept. 16th, 1779.

A GRAZIER.



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Your affectionate Countryman

Sept. 1781

A. GRAZIER.

